

Message Text

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04769 01 OF 02 060417Z

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 AEC-05 AF-04 ARA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-06

EUR-08 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 IO-04 L-01 NASA-01 NEA-06

NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01 RSC-01

OES-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 ISO-00 /097 W

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R 060250Z NOV 74

FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7123

INFO USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 4769

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, TECH, UN

SUBJ: UNGA DISARMAMENT: DRAFT RESOLUTION ON PNE'S

REF: (A) USUN 4628; (B) STATE 237038

1. AMB NISIBORI (JAPAN) PROVIDED US DEL NOV 1 WITH REVISED ALTERNATIVES A AND B (SEE REFTEL A) OF DRAFT RES ON PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. CANADIAN, DUTCH, AND JAPANESE DELS HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY INDICATED TO US THAT ALTERNATIVE A, THE VERSION PUT FORWARD BY JAPAN, WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY DROP
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PAGE 02 USUN N 04769 01 OF 02 060417Z

OUT OF PLAY IN NEAR FUTURE AND THAT JAPAN WILL JOIN

OTHER CO-SPONSORS IN PROMOTING ALTERNATIVE B AS SINGLE
FIRST COMMITTEE RES ON QUESTION OF NON-PROLIFERATION AND PNE'S.

2. FOLLOWING ARE REVISIONS IN ALTERNATIVE B (KEYED TO
TEXT SENT REFTEL A):

(A) PREAMBULAR PARA TWO: DELETE "WOULD ENDANGER" AND REPLACE
WITH "ENDANGERS."

(B) PREAMBULAR PARA THREE: AFTER "TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES,"
INSERT "TO REVERSE THE MOMENTUM OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE
AND" AND DELETE "AND TO ACHIEVE COMPLETE NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE."

(C) PREAMBULAR PARA EIGHT: REPLACE "MAY" WITH "WOULD."

(D) FOLLOWING IS REVISED PREAMBULAR PARA NINE: "CONSI-
DERING THEREFORE THAT, AS LONG AS PEACEFUL NUCLEAR
EXPLOSIONS ARE PLANNED OR CARRIED OUT, THE UNIVERSAL AND
NON-DISCRIMINATORY APPLICATION OF ADEQUATE INTERNATIONAL
ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUCH EXPLOSIONS IS REQUIRED TO HELP
PREVENT THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE DEVICES AND
THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE."

(E) ADD FOLLOWING AS FINAL PREAMBULAR PARA: "NOTING
FURTHER THAT, IN THE INTRODUCTION TO THE REPORT ON THE
WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION DATED 30 AUGUST 1974, THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS POINTED OUT THE
POSSIBLE DANGER OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS LEADING TO
NUCLEAR WEAPON PROLIFERATION, AND SUGGESTED THAT
THE QUESTION OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS IN ALL ITS
ASPECTS SHOULD NOW BE A SUBJECT FOR INTERNATIONAL
CONSIDERATION,"

(F) REVISE OP PARA ONE TO READ: "APPEALS TO ALL STATES,
IN PARTICULAR NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES, TO EXERT CONCERTED
EFFORTS IN ALL APPROPRIATE FORUMS WITH A VIEW TO
WORKING OUT PROMPTLY EFFECTIVE MEASURES FOR THE CESSATION
OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND FOR THE PREVENTION OF THE
FURTHER PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS,"
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PAGE 03 USUN N 04769 01 OF 02 060417Z

(G) OP PARA TWO: ADD "INCLUDING LEGAL, HEALTH, AND SAFETY
ASPECTS" AND "FEASIBILITY,"

(H) OP PARA THREE: AFTER "CONSIDERATION OF THENZ REPLACE
WITH "IMPLICATIONS OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPOSIONS WITH
RESPECT TO WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT AND TO NUCLEAR ARMAMENT
AND IN SO DOING . . ."

(I) OP PARA FOUR: REPLACE "THIS PROBLEM" WITH "THE ROLE OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS AS PROVIDED FOR IN THAT TREATY,"

(J) REVISE OP PARA FIVE TO READ: "REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO SUBMIT ANY FURTHER COMMENTS ON THIS MATTER WHICH HE DEEMS APPROPRIATE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE REPORTS REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPHS TWO, THREE, AND FOUR ABOVE."

3. JAPANESE HAVE TOLD US THEY ARE SATISFIED THAT OP PARAS ONE AND FIVE MEET DESIRE, EXPRESSED BY FONMIN KIMURA IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPEECH, TO HIGHLIGHT NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVE AND INVOLVE UNITED NATIONS IN THIS REGARD. PROPONENTS OF RES AT THIS STAGE, IN ADDITION TO CANADIANS, DUTCH, AND JAPANESE, ARE SWEDES, AUSTRALIANS, AND NEW ZEALANDERS. CANADIAN DELOFF (ROWE) REPORTED THAT INDIAN DEL HAS RECENTLY RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS TO OPPOSE REVISED DRAFT, AND HE FEELS THAT INDIANS WILL TRY TO ORGANIZE CAMPAIGN AGAINST IT. HE NOTED THAT AMB MISHRA (INDIA) HAD BEEN CAUCUSING WITH ASIAN DELS AND PRESUMED THAT SUBJECT WAS PEN RESOLUTION. AMB NISIBORI TOLD US THAT MISHRA HAD APPROACHED HIM AND ASKED HIM TO WITHDRAW RES. ROWE SAID THAT CO-SPONSORS HAVE NOT YET MADE DECISION TO PRESS FORWARD WITH RESOLUTION AND WERE ANXIOUS TO SEE WHETHER INDIANS CAN DRUM UP MUCH OPPOSITON. ROWE SAID THAT IF PROSPECT OF LARGE NUMBER OF ABSTENTIONS SEEMED TO BE DEVELOPING, CO-SPONSORS MIGHT NOT PRESS FOR ANY FIRST COMMITTEE RES ON PNE'S THIS YEAR, A COURSE OF ACTION PREFERRED BY MEXICAN AMB GARCIA ROBLES.

4. AFTER RECEIVING REVISED RES, US DEL ONCE AGAIN RECOMMENDED
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PAGE 04 USUN N 04769 01 OF 02 060417Z

TO CANADIAN, DUTCH, AND JAPANESE DELS THAT OP PARA THREE BE MODIFIED TO SPECIFY THAT CCD SHOULD REPORT ON ITS CONSIDERATION OF "PROLIFERATION RISKS" OF PNE'S, RATHER THAN THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT AND NUCLEAR ARMAMENT. DUTCH DELOFF, IN PARTICULAR, WAS RESISTANT TO IDEA. HE SAID "PROLIFERATION RISKS" SEEMED TO REFER TO "HORIZONTAL" PROLIFERATION RISKS, WHEREAS HIS GOVERNMENT WAS FIRM THAT RISKS OF "VERTICAL" AS WELL AS HORIZONTAL PROLIFERATION HAD TO BE CONSIDERED. US DELOFF ARGUED THAT EXISTING TEXT--CALLING FOR CONSIDERATION OF IMPLICATIONS OF PNE'S FOR WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT--COULD BE READ US FOCUSING MORE ON VERTICAL THAN HORIZONTAL PROLIFERATION. DUTCH DELOFF SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE POINT AND WONDERED WHETHER MORE GENERAL AND NEUTRAL FORMULATION MIGHT BE POSSIBLE. US DELOFF SAID HE WOULD SEEK INSTRUCTIONS.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 04769 02 OF 02 060428Z

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INFO OCT-01 AEC-05 AF-04 ARA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-06

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01 RSC-01

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 4769

5. COMMENT. REVISED DRAFT RES APPEARS TO BE CONSISTENT WITH US NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY AND GENERALLY IN ACCORD WITH GUIDANCE FOR HANDLING PNE'S CONTAINED REFTEL B. SINCE DRAFT IS LIKELY TO BE ONLY FIRST COMMITTEE RESOLUTION THIS YEAR DEALING WITH NON-PROLIFERATION AND PNE ISSUES, WE BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO BE ABLE TO SUPPORT THIS JAPANESE-DUTCH EFFORT. WE RECOGNIZE THAT SOME PARAS OF DRAFT POSE POSSIBLE PROBLEMS. FOR EXAMPLE, PREAMBULAR PARA SIX, WHICH ASSERTS THAT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN TECHNOLOGY FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND PNE'S, DOES NOT PROVIDE COMPLETE PICTURE OF COMPLEX "INDISTINGUISH-

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PAGE 02 USUN N 04769 02 OF 02 060428Z

ABILITY" ISSUE, HOWEVER, IT DOES NOT SEEM FEASIBLE TO AMEND IT AND WE BELIEVE EFFORT TO DO SO COULD BE USED AGAINST US BY INDIANS AND OTHERS, IN DAMAGING WAY, IN NON-PROLIFERATION CONTEXT. IF IT SHOULD BE DESIRABLE TO PRESENT US POSITION MORE FULLY, WE WOULD HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO IN EXPLANATION OF VOTE AND IN CORRIDORS.

6. SECOND POSSIBLE PROBLEM WE HAVE NOTED IS IN PREAMBULAR PARA NINE. IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE OT PROPOSE DELETION OF "UNIVERSAL AND NON-DISCRIMINATORY" AND REPLACE "IS" WITH "WOULD BE" IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE CONDITIONAL CHARACTER OF INTERNATIONAL PNE ARRANGEMENTS. HOWEVER, SINCE EXISTING PARA STOPS SHORT OF COMMITMENT TO SPECIFIC TYPE OF INTERNATIONAL PNE ARRANGEMENT, WE THINK THAT IT SHOULD, IN LAST ANALYSIS, BE ACCEPTABLE, PERHAPS WITH SUITABLE EXPLANATION OF VOTE.

7. WITH RESPECT TO MANDATE OF CCD (OP PARA THREE), SEVERAL DELS CLEARLY BELIEVE THAT WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT IMPLICATIONS OF PNE'S IS IMPORTANT ARMS CONTROL QUESTION AND IS THEREFORE LEGITIMATE TOPIC OF DISCUSSION, IN ADDITION TO "HORIZONTAL" PROLIFERATION RISKS, AT CCD. IT SEEMS HIGHLY DOUBTFUL THAT WE COULD SUCCEED IN CONFINING MANDATE IN RES TO "PROLIFERATION RISKS." IN ANY EVENT, CCD MEMBERS WOULD NOT FEEL CONSTRAINED EVEN BY OUR PREFERRED FORMULATION TO AVOID COMMENTING ON WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT IMPLICATIONS OF PNE'S. HOWEVER, OF SPONSORS WILL NOT ACCEPT "PROLIFERATION RISKS" AS WE HAVE URGED, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO MODIFY RES TO CALL FOR CONSIDERATION OF "ARMS CONTROL IMPLICATIONS" OF PNE'S. SUCH A MODIFICATION WOULD HAVE ADVANTAGE OF SIDENING CURRENTLY NARROW FOCUS ON WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT AND COULD BE DEFENDED AS CONSISTENT WITH EXISTING MANDATE AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF CCD. MODIFICATION ALONG THE LINES WOULD ALSO SEEM CONSISTENT WITH PARA NINE OF PNE GUIDANCE (REFTEL B) WHICH REFERS TO US WILLINGNESS TO DEAL WITH "ARMS CONTROL IMPLICATIONS" OF PNE'S IN CCD.

8. WE HAVE BEEN URGED BY JAPANESE, DUTCH, AND CANADIANS TO LET THEM KNOW WHETHER EXISTING DRAFT RES IS ACCEPTABLE TO USG AND, IF NOT, WHAT MINIMUM CHANGES WOULD BE REQUIRED
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PAGE 03 USUN N 04769 02 OF 02 060428Z

TO ACHIEV OUR SUPPORT. WE WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S

VIEWS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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